THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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CHARLES E. BAKER, *Editor*

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THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY IS NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR STATEMENTS IN SIGNED ARTICLES

SAMUEL VETCH (1668–1732)
Painted by Unidentified Artist, New York, 1703
Museum of the City of New York

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SAMUEL VETCH AND THE GLORIOUS ENTERPRISE

by G. M. WALLER*

AT THE CORE of almost every aspect of the second phase of the century-long conflict between the French and English on this continent—the hostilities between 1702 and 1713 known as Queen Anne's War—is found a little-known figure, Samuel Vetch. He deserves to be better known.

As a man who played a key role in English colonial affairs during this period, Samuel Vetch has met with a strange disregard from historians. His activities, which go far toward furnishing a key to the meaning of English colonial affairs at the time and later, are almost unknown. In most Colonial histories he makes a brief appearance, without introduction, and is gone, with no summary of his importance, and, indeed, sometimes no

* George Macgregor Waller, an instructor in history at Amherst College, is presently engaged on a history of Samuel Vetch and his times as well as editing the forthcoming volume on *Puritanism in Early America* in the *Problems in American Civilization* series.

mention of some of his most important activities.[1] Historians of New France have, it is true, been more generous to his memory.[2] Apparently he was more highly regarded by the French as an opponent than by the English as one of their leaders.

Vetch, it would appear, was one of the few men of his time who synthesized the ideas of his contemporaries and applied them to the current situation. He initiated the first important steps toward overcoming the French expansion in America by means of a well-planned and coördinated attack on New France by British military and naval strength combined with forces from the Colonies coöperating together instead of indulging in their usual jealous pulling and hauling against unified efforts. A rare type in the Colonies, Vetch thought of the English colonial scene in America as a whole, and not provincially as did most of his contemporaries. The diverging interests of the Colonies and the Mother Country were drawn together in his scheme into a plan of action which could command the support of both. In this he was an early 18th-century representative of the type exemplified at a later period by Benjamin Franklin. And for a time he was far more successful in commanding the loyal adherence of Colonials and British government leaders alike to his ideas than had been men like Robert Quary or Edmund Randolph, who were concerned, as he was, with the imperial problem. His in-

[1] See, for instance, Herbert Levi Osgood, *The American Colonies in the 18th Century* (New York: 1924), I: 420–423, 429ff; Curtis P. Nettels, *The Roots of American Civilization* (New York: 1938), 370. Osgood makes no mention in his detailed history of the Colonial congress called by Vetch in the fall of 1709, although it belongs in the list of important attempts at intercolonial coöperation.

[2] William Kingsford, *The History of Canada* (Toronto: 1888), II: 423–430, 441ff; Francis Parkman, *A Half-Century of Conflict* (Boston: 1899), I: 128–175; G. M. Wrong, *The Rise and Fall of New France* (New York: 1928), II: 568ff. Kingsford excepts Vetch from a general judgment that among the English "Not a name suggests itself as even reaching mediocrity," and calls him "pre-eminently distinguished by ability, [a man] who early perceived that the power of the English colonies lay in their union. . . . It was owing in no small degree to his efforts that the first important steps were taken in this direction." Parkman agrees that Vetch was the "prime mover" in the plan to conquer Canada, and sees in him a man ". . . impetuous, sanguine, energetic, and headstrong, astute withal, and full of ambition. A more visionary agent for the execution of the proposed plan of conquest could not have been desired." To Wrong, "it was his energy which now made a beginning of the end of France's Empire in America."

fluence proved to be considerably greater than that of his experienced colleague, Francis Nicholson, who, at the time of the second Colonial war could look back on governorships in many Colonies.

Vetch's career is also a significant symbol of the parliamentary union of England and Scotland in 1707, which saw the entry onto the stage of British imperialism of many energetic Scots whose activities in the colonial field up to this time had not been less important but who now became recognized as official representatives of the Empire. Among Scottish enterprisers Samuel Vetch should have his place along with his better-known contemporaries, John Law and William Paterson. And it was in no small part owing to his connections with the Duke of Queensbury, who had negotiated the parliamentary union, that Vetch had influence with Queen Anne's government.[3]

Neglect of those aspects of this period with which Vetch was concerned is largely due to the fact that the relevant source material has been buried in the mass of English and Colonial records which are gradually becoming known through the efforts of numerous, industrious scholars who have indexed and calendared the collections of American and British archives. And much of the material on Vetch has been in the private possession of descendants of British and Colonial leaders, unexploited by historians.[4]

The New-York Historical Society has recently acquired a number of items which make an important contribution to the study of the abortive campaign of 1709 against Canada—that enterprise engineered by Vetch, which saw an unusually large

[3] See below, note 12, and William Thomas Morgan, *English Political Parties and Leaders in the Reign of Queen Anne 1702–1710* (New Haven: 1920), 150.

[4] An excellent short sketch of Vetch's career is available in John Bartlett Brebner's article for the *Dictionary of American Biography*. Other short biographical sketches may be found in J. Clarence Webster, *Samuel Vetch* (privately printed, New Brunswick, 1928); Robert Hamilton Vetch, in *Dictionary of National Biography;* George Patterson, *Papers Connected with the Administration of Governor Vetch* in *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, 1884; James Grant Wilson, *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography;* and "An Acadian Governor" in *International Review*, November 1881.

number of Colonies coöperating under the leadership and with the aid of the Mother Country in an effort to overthrow the French rule in Canada. It is mainly on its efforts in this campaign that the Province of New York must base its defense against the accusations of the contemporary New England Colonies, that during Queen Anne's War New York pursued a disgraceful policy of neutrality and inaction. New York's coöperation, even leadership, during the planning and preparatory stage of the campaign is clear evidence of the fallacy of the charges brought by the New Englanders.[5]

Cosmopolitan as most Scottish Colonial adventurers were, Vetch may, nevertheless, be claimed as a New Yorker. Arriving in the port of New York in 1699 after a varied career in the army of William of Orange during the War of the League of Augsburg, and as a leader in the ill-fated Scottish colonization project at Darien, Vetch found his way to Albany. There he engaged in the fur trade, a trade in which a fellow Scot, Robert Livingston, was largely interested, and which at that time included a sizeable and lucrative exchange with the French at Montreal. Then in his early thirties, Vetch was attracted to Margaret, the eldest daughter of Robert Livingston, and shortly married her, linking himself thereby to the family whose subsequent history in New York was to be long and honorable. Through her mother, Margaret was the niece of Peter Schuyler, first mayor of Albany and a leading figure in the Province. Schuyler and Livingston were in the forefront of New York politics and trade and Vetch rapidly took an active part in their endeavors.[6]

[5] For New England's charges see *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 6th Series, III: 222–231, 344; *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and the West Indies 1708–9*, #533i; Address of the Massachusetts General Court to the Queen; New York Colonial Manuscripts, in New York State Library, Albany, N.Y., LVI: 126, 134, 187. The considerations which explain New York's role are discussed in the author's ms. thesis, "New York Neutrality in Queen Anne's War" in the Nicholas Murray Butler Library, Columbia University, New York.

[6] George Pratt Insh, ed., *Papers Relating to the Ships and Voyages of the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies 1696–1707* (Edinburgh: 1924); *The Darien Papers 1695–1700*, letter of Samuel Vetch to William Vetch. Vetch has left his own short biographical sketch for this period in a letter to Secretary Blath-

By 1706 Vetch had expanded his interests to include the direct trade of New York and Boston with Quebec and Acadia. This was considered as illicit trading with the enemy by many of the Colonists, since Massachusetts frontiers were constantly being harassed by French and Indian war parties, armed, as it was thought, by the guns and ammunition which traders like Vetch furnished the French in return for their beaver. But in the course of this trade Vetch came to know the St. Lawrence well and was able to observe the strength and weakness of the French, the trading possibilities of the country, and the physical configurations with which an attacking army would have to deal. Governor Dudley of Massachusetts made use of Vetch's acquaintance with the French by employing him to negotiate the exchange of prisoners and, if possible, to establish a neutrality between French and English colonists in America during the European conflict. But Vetch ran afoul of authorities both in New York and Massachusetts Bay for his wartime trade, and late in 1706 took ship for England to let things cool off.[7]

With him Vetch carried the germ of an idea, the scheme which he called "the Glorious Enterprise," a name perpetuated by at least one historian.[8] Not original with Vetch, the scheme for the conquest of Canada may be traced back through New York governors like Cornbury, Fletcher, the "rebel" Leisler, and Dongan, to Peter Schuyler and his fellow Albany fur-traders. It is likely that Vetch received his first interest in the idea from Schuyler and Livingston. It had more recently been the theme

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wayt of the Board of Trade, dated May 25, 1702, in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California.

[7] *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay* for 1706; *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 5th Series, V–VII; *Journal of the Voyage of the Sloop 'Mary' from Quebec*, ed., E. B. O'Callaghan (Albany: 1866); Thomas Hutchinson, *History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay*, ed., L. S. Mayo (3 vols., Cambridge, Mass.: 1936), II: 115–117; Everett Kimball, *The Public Life of Joseph Dudley* (New York: 1911), 114–119.

[8] W. D. Schuyler-Lighthall, "The 'Glorious Enterprise': The Plan of Campaign for the Conquest of New France; Its Origin, History, and Connection with the Invasions of Canada," in *Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal*, Series 3, Vol. IV, No. 1, January 1902.

of many Colonial leaders in their reports to the British government—Robert Quary, Governor Dudley of Massachusetts, and George Vaughan, New Hampshire's agent in London.[9] But credit must go to Vetch for finally convincing British colonial officials of the necessity for acquiring Canada.

After a visit to his home and parents in Scotland, Vetch came to London in the summer of 1708 and presented the British government with a remarkable tract entitled "Canada Surveyed," in which he set forth under six general heads a view of the British imperial problem as it existed in America and a solution which comprehended the problem in its world setting and worked out the details more completely than either colonials or Englishmen resident in the home country had done heretofore.[10]

This document deserves more notice than it has customarily had, as an unusually lucid presentation of an important problem by a man who was acquainted at first hand with the subject whereof he wrote, traits not often found in the reports submitted to the Board of Trade. In "Canada Surveyed" Vetch drew attention to the true strategy which the British should follow against the French, based on Britain's strong position as a maritime nation, a concept which even this early foreshadowed Pitt's later policy and its successful application. He included an accurate and detailed description of the situation of New France, the advantages to Britain of its conquest, and the dangers inherent in continued French expansion. He advanced a well-worked-out plan of attack and the reasons why success could be had at that time. The essay even embraced plans for the administration of the new province after it had been taken.

Vetch met with the delay in dealing with British officialdom

[9] *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, ed., E. B. O'Callaghan and Fernow (Albany: 1854 etc.), IV: 2, 149, 647, 870–9, 977–8, 1047–57, 1061; *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and the West Indies 1685–88*, #1479; *ibid. 1689–92*, #521; *ibid. 1708–9*, #19, #107.

[10] "Canada Surveyed" is reprinted in part in *Cal. of St. P. Col. 1708–9*, #60 and #196. It is found in full in the ms. *Letter Book* of Samuel Vetch, covering the years 1709–12, a gift to the Museum of the City of New York by Vetch's direct descendants: Julian R. Speyers, New York City, and the late Mrs. Robert Weeks Kelley. A photostatic copy is in the Nicholas Murray Butler Library, Columbia University.

which was characteristic of the 18th century, but success in full measure finally attended his efforts to engage the government in his scheme—a scheme which a lesser man might have thought far too visionary to press upon a bureaucracy busy with a full-scale continental war. The Board of Trade sent in its recommendation to Secretary-of-State Sunderland in December, 1708, and instructions to Vetch from the Queen granting every particular of his plan and appointing him director of the enterprise in the Colonies were forthcoming on March 1, 1709.[11]

Several reasons may be suggested why this man, hitherto practically unknown to the British government, succeeded in committing the Queen and her ministers not only to the idea of the conquest of Canada, but to the unprecedented step of furnishing the Colonists active aid in the shape of a naval squadron and four thousand British redcoats, intended to act in conjunction with nearly that number of Colonial militiamen and their Indian allies. In the first place, Vetch came well recommended. Backed by men in the Colonies well known and well regarded by the government, like Peter Schuyler, Robert Livingston, and Joseph Dudley, Vetch could also call on the support in England of an old friend, "patron and protector," the Duke of Queensbury and Dover, who was high in the favor of the Queen and the recognized political leader and manipulator of Scotland. As one of two Secretaries of State, Queensbury was in a position to influence Sunderland, the other Secretary who dealt more particularly with colonial affairs. And Sunderland's mother-in-law was the Duchess of Marlborough, at this time the most influential confidant of the Queen.[12]

Vetch himself impressed the Board of Trade as unusually well informed, possessed of a clear idea of what must be done and how to do it.[13] The forcefulness of his presentation, his attractive

[11] *Cal. St. P. Col. 1708–9*, #221, #387.

[12] Morgan, *op. cit.*, 150 ff; *Letter Book*, Vetch to Queensbury, June 29, 1709, August 1, 1709.

[13] *Cal. St. P. Col. 1708–9*, #71, #85, #89; *Calendar of Treasury Papers 1708–1714*, ed., Joseph Redington (London: 1879), CVIII: 30.

personality, and his tact, joined with his record of past military experience, won for him not only the task of directing Colonial preparations for the expedition against Canada, but the post of adjutant general to the field officer who would be given command of the British regulars, and the promise of the governorship of Canada after it was taken.[14]

Vetch was careful in letter after letter to play upon the patriotism, ambition, and even avarice of the Queen and her ministry, pointing out that his project would advance the glory of Her Majesty's arms, enlarge her Empire, and augment the trade and happiness of her Colonial subjects. It would immortalize the Queen's memory and stand as an everlasting monument to the unparalleled zeal, care, prudence and loyalty of "the present, matchless ministry."[15]

Furthermore, Vetch was fortunate in the timing of his proposal. Marlborough had won impressive victories in Europe, but the war was temporarily at a stalemate and under pressure from the Tories the Whig Ministry, it was plain, would welcome such a plan as Vetch's to improve the situation. And Vetch did not neglect the careful politics and the judicious distribution of bribes without which no business took place in the England of that day. He cultivated Pringle, the president of the Board of Trade, Somers, one of the most prominent ministers in the Whig Junto, Lord Treasurer Godolphin, and the powerful Scottish Duke of Hamilton.[16]

It would be safe to say that the arguments of many Colonial leaders had all but convinced the British government at Whitehall of the need for action against the French in Canada. Vetch summed up these arguments cogently in "Canada Surveyed," adding some that had not been advanced before, and incorporating a definite plan of action based on his own intimate political,

[14] *Letter Book*, Sunderland for Queen Anne, to governors of Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, New York, and Connecticut, March 2, and February 28, 1709; Vetch to Sunderland, June 28, 1709, letter in Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

[15] *Letter Book*, Vetch to General McKarty, March 10, 1709; to Popple, March 11, and letters to Sunderland, Somers, Godolphin, and the Ministry as a whole, *passim*.

[16] *Ibid*.

economic, and topographical knowledge of Canada. Presented by an enthusiast well-connected in high places, and coming as it did at an opportune time, the plan could hardly fail of acceptance.

The accessions of the Society tell the story of Vetch's return to America bearing the Queen's instructions to raise a force of militia, part of whom would accompany the British regulars from Boston against Quebec and part of whom would march independently by way of Albany and Lake Champlain to attack Montreal.[17] Vetch was accompanied by Francis Nicholson, erstwhile royal governor in several of the Colonies, who had volunteered his services and whom Vetch was instructed to include in his councils with the Colonial governors in preparation for the expedition. Vetch was attracted by Nicholson's zeal for the plan and found him in perfect agreement in everything.[18] Supplies of war, including men and cannon to form a train of artillery, were sent along as well as suitable goods as presents for the Iroquois whom it was hoped to enlist in the project.

Her Majesty's ship *Dragon* bearing this epochal cargo encountered contrary winds and suffered a prolonged buffeting, until thirty-four days out of Portsmouth the captain suggested officially in writing to Vetch and Nicholson, in a letter now in the Society's collection, that a course change should be made which would bring them into Boston instead of New York, the port which had been intended. So after seven tedious weeks at sea Vetch found himself at anchor in the harbor of Massachusetts' Provincial capital, and lost no time in waiting upon Governor Dudley with news of the projected enterprise.[19]

[17] In addition to the letters and documents acquired by The New-York Historical Society and described below, reference should be made to the *Letter Book* noted above (note 10), which includes copies of some of the letters in the Society's collection as well as copies of other letters in British and American archives, some of which have been printed or abstracted in collections of Colonial documents and calendars of the various archives.

[18] *Letter Book,* Vetch to McKarty, March 11, 1709.

[19] Capt. G. Martin to Vetch and Nicholson, April 13, 1709. The *Dragon* sailed from Portsmouth, England, March 11 and arrived in Boston April 28. Vetch and Nicholson to Sunderland, June 28, 1709 (see note 23).

Letters from the Queen addressed to each Colonial governor as far south as Pennsylvania with instructions concerning the part they were to play in the campaign were dispatched at once, accompanied by a covering letter from Vetch giving more detailed plans. The New-York Historical Society has Vetch's copies of these latter letters, which he submitted in his reports to the English government.[20] He pointed out to each governor that disregard of instructions would entail an affront to the British government, which by its authorization of the campaign had manifested more than an ordinary concern for the safety and welfare of the Colonies. "But," he added, "as I am assured it is highly to your interest (more than Her Majesty's) that this Enterprise succeed, so I know you who have so true a zeal both for Her Majesty's honor and your country's welfare will take the most effectual methods imaginable to see her royal order punctually complied withall."[21] For once the notorious independency of the separate Colonies was not to be allowed to stand in the way with so much at stake.

In all his letters to the governors Vetch urged that they call their Colonial Assemblies into session to vote men and supplies. He indicated his intention to meet with each of the Colonial governors concerned and planned to set out from Boston as soon as preparations there were well under way.

With regard to the New York administration's jealous maintenance of its position as the stronghold of the royal prerogative in the Colonies, Vetch wrote to Governor Lovelace apologizing for his failure to arrive first in New York. Before Lovelace had left England for his post in the Colonies Vetch had discussed his project with him and found Lovelace in ardent support. Now Vetch was proud to say that he had brought his scheme to pass. Lovelace was asked to send out Indian spies to reconnoiter the

[20] Copies of: Vetch to Governor of Connecticut, April 30, 1709, to Governor of Pennsylvania, April 30; Vetch and Nicholson to Governor of Rhode Island, April 30, to Lovelace, Governor of New York and New Jersey, April 30; in NYHS. Copies of letters from Queen Anne, per Sunderland, to the governors are in the *Letter Book*.

[21] Vetch to Saltonstall of Connecticut, April 30, 1709. (NYHS)

routes to Montreal and Quebec and report on the conditions of Canada's fortifications. Efforts to find a suitable site near the southern end of Lake Champlain from which to embark the overland expedition against Montreal were also to be made.[22]

Most important of the records of the expedition now in the possession of the Society is the long letter from Vetch, signed also by Colonel Nicholson, which was sent off to the Earl of Sunderland, Secretary of State, at the end of June, 1709.[23] This letter comprises a journal of these leaders' efforts to put the Colonies in readiness for action with the British forces. From it one can learn how Boston immediately swarmed with activity. Vetch met with the Governor and Council to agree on the organization of the Colonial army and the appointment of officers. Arrangements for supply, transport, and other supporting activities were made. To prevent intelligence of the campaign from reaching the French an embargo was placed on all shipping and scouts were deployed along the Canadian border to stop overland communication. The embargo served as well to prevent the export of provisions which would be needed to feed the troops.

Contracts were let for flat-bottomed boats to be used in landing operations. Guides were recruited from among those who had once been Canadian captives. A system for relaying messages between Boston and Albany was established, making use of Indian runners, so that close contact could be kept between the two forces acting in concert.

In its collection of material on the expedition the Society has examples of the proclamations which were printed and posted in New York and Boston calling for enlistments and assuring volunteers that they would be furnished arms and would not be subjected to occupation duty once Canada was conquered, unless they were willing.

[22] Vetch to Lovelace of New York, April 30, 1709. (NYHS)

[23] Although signed by both men, the occasional use of the first person, the style and phrasing, as well as a postscript signed by Vetch alone indicates Vetch as the author of this "journal." A continuation of the "journal" may be found in the letter from Vetch to Queensbury, August 1, 1709, in the *Letter Book*.

By the Honourable

Richard Indgoldesby, Esq; Lieut. Governour & Commander in Chief of the Provinces of *New-Jersey*, *New-York*, and Territories depending thereon in *America*.

A Proclamation.

WHereas her most Sacred Majesty has Commanded, by her Royal Instructions to Coll. *Samuell Vetch*, That her Province of *New-Jersey* do furnish Two Hundred Men, to be joyned by others of her Majesties Provinces of *New-York*, *Connecticut* and *Pensylvania*, to be sent over the Lake against *Canada*, for the Reduction thereof And whereas by an Act of General Assembly of the said Province of *New-Jersey*, the Sum of Three Thousand Pounds is given to her Majesty for the pay of Two Hundred Volunteers, to be employed in that Service, but there being no Power granted to detach any Men within the said Province, I do therefore in her Majesties Name, by and with the Advice of her Majesties Council of the said Province, hereby give Notice, That if any Apprentices, Servants, or any other Persons whatsoever in the said Provinces of *New-Jersey* or *Pensylvania*, or any other of her Majesties Provinces, shall and will come and enter themselves as Volunteers for the Service aforesaid, they shall be kindly entertained, and receive the Pay given for that purpose, as aforesaid, and shall be entituled to all further Encouragement equally with any other of her Majesties Subjects who enter themselves as Volunteers for the said Expedition.

Given at Burlington *in* New-Jersey *the 30th Day of* June, *in the Eighth Year of her Majesties Reign*, Annoq; Domini, 1709.

Richard Ingoldesby.

God Save the Queen.

THose that will List themselves as Volunteers for the said Service, may repair to Coll. *Richard Townley* in *Elizabeth-Town*, Major *John Harrison* in *Amboy*, Coll. *Daniel Cox* in *Burlington*, Capt. in *Gloucester*, or to Capt. at *Salem* in *New-Jersey*, and they shall be taken care of and provided for.

GOVERNOR INGOLDESBY'S CALL FOR VOLUNTEERS

Issued at Burlington, N. J., June 30, 1709

Gift of Mr. Lucius Wilmerding, 1949

By the Honourable

Coll. Francis Nicholson & Coll. Samuel Vetch

A PROCLAMATION.

WHereas by a former Proclamation we had, in her Majestys Name, by virtue of her Royal Instructions to us for that effect, assured all such of her Majestys Subjects as should Inlist themselves to go as Volunteers in the present Expedition, of a good Fire-lock; but finding, after an exact Survey of the Arms in her Majestys Magazine in *Fort-Anne* in *New-York*, that there is not a sufficient number at present, of good Arms to supply the whole number of Men appointed by her Majesty, to be raised from the Provinces of *New-York*, *Connecticut*, *Jersies* and *Pensylvania*, for the said Expedition; and being likewise informed, that several of the Volunteers who will go upon this Expedition, will chuse rather to make use of their own Arms, than what should be given them. We do therefore hereby assure all and sundry of such as shall go as Volunteers upon the said Expedition, that before they go from *Albany*, the place of the general Randevouze, they shall either receive good and sufficient Arms, or their value in Money. Given at *New-York*, *May* 26. 1709.

Fr. Nicholson,
Sam. Vetch.

God Save the Queen.

By the Honourable *Peter Schuyler*, Esq; President of the Council.

THe fore-going Proclamation being for Her Majs Service, and agreeable to her Instructions, I order it to be made Publick.

Peter Schuyler, Pres.

Printed by *William Bradford*, Printer to the Queens most Excellent Majesty in *New-York*, 1709.

NICHOLSON-VETCH PROCLAMATION REGARDING FIRE-ARMS

Printed by William Bradford at New York, May 26, 1709

Gift of Mr. Lucius Wilmerding, 1949

By May 12th Vetch had done all he could in Boston looking toward the arrival of the British fleet, and set out with his retinue of British officers to complete arrangements in the Colonies to the south. At the same time Governor Dudley went north to his other province of New Hampshire to enlist its support.

It was at this juncture that Vetch received a piece of devastating news in a report from New York. Governor Lovelace, on whom hopes for the successful leadership of the overland attack had been pinned, had died. This information, which Vetch presciently feared might prove a "retardment" to the service, hastened his steps toward New York, although the letter from New York reassuringly stated that the Assembly intended to remain in session until Vetch's arrival so that it would be ready to comply fully with the Queen's wishes for the attack on Canada.

Further reassurance met Vetch in Rhode Island, where he stopped briefly to meet with the Governor and Council. This usually unruly and independent colony had already taken steps not only to provide men, transport, and provisions for the expedition, but the Assembly had even made provision for raising funds to pay its troops. Vetch was careful to report with unstinting praise in his letter to Sunderland this exemplary performance.

Governor Saltonstall of Connecticut was busy with his Assembly when Vetch passed through New Haven, so Vetch pressed on to New York, leaving word for Saltonstall to follow and meet with him in New York. Governor Gookin of Pennsylvania had also been asked to come to New York, to save Vetch and Nicholson the trip further south.

Less than a week after his departure from Boston Vetch arrived in New York, anxious lest this usually faction-ridden province prove an obstacle to his project, but hiding his fears under the resolute and optimistic demeanor he had borne from the start. New York was still, almost two decades after the event, torn politically by the strife of adherents and opponents of Leisler's revolt. Added to this, contending racial, religious, and economic

groups rarely agreed on measures of common interest, and the New York Assembly was one of the foremost in America in pressing the struggle against royal prerogative. Vetch had counted on the popular and able Lovelace to counteract these adverse factors, and now, instead of a man whom he knew was favorable to the campaign, Vetch had to deal with Richard Ingoldesby, the Lieutenant Governor, a man with long experience in the Province but with little demonstrated ability. Vetch had known him previously as undependable, a placeman lacking in imagination and noted for inaction. The very fact that Ingoldesby had been in the Colony for many years meant that he was involved in the factional jealousies. It was fortunate that Vetch, at least, had come to New York originally long after the Leislerian affair and had political and family connections on both sides of the prevailing political division.

Fortunately the situation was not so bad as it might have been. The Queen's instructions had met with general approval from the Lieutenant Governor and his Council. The Assembly had been in session when Lovelace died, which obviated the technicalities which might have arisen had Ingoldesby had to call a new session. And in deference to that always-touchy body, Ingoldesby stood ready to allow certain acts to be passed in which he and the Council did not believe, just in order that the Assembly would not have grounds for obstructing the Canada expedition.[21]

Vetch and Nicholson met with the Lieutenant Governor and the Council at Fort Anne almost immediately upon their arrival at Manhattan. The Assembly was called in, and Vetch's instructions along with measures already taken by the New England colonies were communicated to them. Acting with rare unanimity, the Assembly resolved to comply to the utmost with Her Majesty's wishes, although the next day the members were afflicted with characteristic misgivings and complained that the quota set for New York was too high and would put them to

[21] *New York Col. Docs.*, V: 72ff, 82.

undue expense. Vetch and Nicholson hastened to assure the body that they would intercede with the Queen to obtain some reimbursement to the Colony for the expense to which it would be put. With this assurance the Province went ahead with all the measures necessary looking toward the campaign.[25] The usual factionalism of the Province was notably absent, although the army paymaster stationed in New York observed that the Colony was not matching the efforts of the New Englanders and that "Interest that governs all the world tyrannizes at New York."[26]

Indian spies had already been sent out to report on the defenses of Montreal and Quebec, and it was but a short time before Colonel Redknap, regular army engineer and a professionally trained soldier, was put in charge of the ordnance brought from England, and carpenters were dispatched from Albany to build storehouses, boats, and forts at the southern end of the lakes.

The most serious problem which faced the leaders was the election of a commander to replace the late Lord Lovelace as general of the forces which were to go by land against Canada. Vetch had specific instructions to name such a commander, in consultation with the governors of Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania. Therefore, as soon as Governor Saltonstall and Governor Gookin had arrived, Vetch addressed a letter to the group asking them to nominate a supreme commander. Intercolonial jealousies and his own lacklustre reputation probably prevented the consideration of Ingoldesby of New York, although Vetch had diplomatically suggested him.

Nicholson was the unanimous choice but he protested that he had come as a volunteer and had fully expected to sail with the fleet to Quebec. Experienced in Colonial administration, he probably well knew the difficulties of leading a motley Colonial force, and had heard of the failures of former overland attempts

[25] *Journal of the Legislative Council of the Colony of New York Began the 9th Day of April 1691 and Ended the 27th of September 1743* (Albany: 1861), 278–280; *Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Colony of New York*, etc. (New York: 1764), I: 247–9.

[26] *New York Col. Docs.*, V: 80–81.

against Canada. But the other leaders stood firm in their mandate. Vetch declared that the expedition could hardly proceed unless Nicholson took the command. Peter Schuyler, who had been named second in command, flatly stated that he would not go unless Nicholson consented. He represented that the Five Nations would be more likely to lend their support if Nicholson were in command. Finally Nicholson reluctantly agreed to assume the post, and his selection was unanimously ratified by the various Colonial governments.[27] The Society has Nicholson's letter to the Secretary of State setting forth the circumstances of his acceptance of the command, along with a hint that he be considered for another post, unspecified. He wrote: "If Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to do anything for me, it shall be most dutifully and gratefully accepted of by me."[28] What this alludes to is clarified by a letter from Vetch in which Vetch recommends Nicholson for the governorship of New York vacated by Lovelace's death.[29]

Two other documents of the Society give added details of New York's role in preparing for the campaign. An address to the Queen from the Lieutenant Governor, Council, and Assembly bears congratulations and thanks for the country's European victories, the parliamentary union with Scotland, and the general regard exhibited by the Mother Country toward the Colonies. Following the example recommended by Vetch and set by the Colonies to the north, New York professes its faith in the proposed expedition, and its willingness to comply enthusiastically with the plans on foot. Acceptance of the arms and supplies furnished by the home government is linked with the plea for more. And the view is expressed that Nicholson's acceptance of command will offset the tragedy of Lovelace's untimely death.[30]

[27] See the Council and Assembly Journals of the Colonies concerned.
[28] Nicholson to Sunderland, July 8, 1709. (NYHS)
[29] Vetch to Sunderland, June 29, 1709. (Huntington Library)
[30] Address to Queen Anne from Lieutenant Governor Richard Ingoldesby, the Council, and General Assembly of New York, June 24, 1709. (NYHS)

A copy of the Council Minutes, which accompanied the Address to the Queen and Nicholson's letter of explanation of his acceptance of military command, gives further details of New York's effort in the expedition. It includes orders to various subordinate officers, accounts of arms and supplies bought, the business of enlisting the Indians from Long Island in the campaign, the report of the Indian spies returned from Canada, and a report of progress in assembling troops, Indians, and supplies at the advanced base.[31]

It remained for Ingoldesby to enlist the support of his other province, New Jersey. While Vetch and Nicholson were in New York, "misunderstandings and feuds," as Vetch put it, arose in the Jersey Assembly. A number of Quakers who sat in that body steadfastly refused to hear of furnishing a quota of men. Faced with an unruly Assembly, the Jersey Council and Governor Ingoldesby asked Vetch and Nicholson to journey over to Perth Amboy and address the legislators personally, as they had in Boston and New York. While Vetch found the Assembly quite adamant in the matter of raising men, since nearly half the Assembly was made up of Quakers, with which enough others joined to prevent passage of such an act, he did find that they were not averse to a system of volunteers, and although the Quakers would vote no money for their pay, they planned to absent themselves in sufficient numbers so that such a bill would pass, in the event that their presence offered a threat to it. The Quakers lacked two of a majority, so there seemed no likelihood of that.[32]

It was then that Ingoldesby and the Council, seeing a chance to strike a blow against the Quaker dominance of the Assembly, had arranged for two of their "tools" in the Assembly to desert the Anglican side and vote with the Quakers on the third reading

[31] Copy of New York Council Minutes, July 2, 1709. (NYHS)

[32] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey*, ed., Wm. A. Whitehead (Newark: 1881), III: 329, 460–69; IV: 36–7; XIII: 365–7; *New York Col. Docs.*, V: 81; Donald L. Kemmerer, *Path to Freedom, The Struggle for Self-Government in Colonial New Jersey 1703–1776* (Princeton: 1940), 82ff.

of the bill, thereby handing it a surprise defeat after it had seemed sure of passage during the first readings. The situation was patently one in which the Governor and Council were sacrificing the common good and the success of the expedition to satisfy their longstanding grudges against the independent spirit of the Assembly. They doubtless justified such a stroke as affording a demonstration which would bring home to the English government the realization that a people professing principles so at variance with the interest of the Colonies and the government had no place in the British imperial scheme and should be kept off the benches of the Colonial Assemblies. Vetch, while convinced of the justice of the Governor's stand, was impatient of such provincial politics with so much at stake. He put pressure on Ingoldesby to recall the Assembly, which had been abruptly adjourned, and allowed the far-from-contrite lower house to pass an act to raise three thousand pounds "for the Queen," even though they encumbered it with distasteful provisions reflecting on the Governor and upper house, and emphasizing the powers of the Assembly. Finally, seeing no further advantage in placating the opposition, Vetch and Nicholson joined in recommendations to the Crown to exclude Quakers henceforth from Colonial Assemblies.[33]

After this, Vetch had no doubt that matters would be worse in Pennsylvania, where the Assembly was almost wholly Quaker. Vetch left it to Gookin to persuade his own Province to join the plan if he could. The proprietors of Pennsylvania, the Penns, were caught, as Gookin had feared, between the desires of the English government and the will of their colonists. Gookin was fully aware that failure to win his Assembly to support of the expedition might result in the proprietors' loss of the Colony to the Crown. Vetch's enthusiasm had been contagious, and his arguments and inspiration were notably influential in calling forth Gookin's best efforts. He acted warily and with tact, albeit

[33] *New Jersey Col. Docs.*, IV: 37; XIV: 371–2; and concluding remarks of the "Journal."

trying to be firm. But to the Quakers of the Pennsylvania Assembly the arguments against support of the campaign proved to be decisive. They maintained their scruples against raising money to hire men to fight, and pointed out that they were in no more danger from the French than Maryland, Virginia, and Delaware, none of which had been asked to contribute.[31] Here it is apparent that Vetch's failure to include all the Colonies in his plan was a serious mistake. Not until several decades later, when the French began to encroach on Pennsylvania interests in the Ohio Valley, would that Colony see that the menace of a foreign Canada was common to all the British Colonies.

By the end of June, when Vetch and Nicholson sent off their account of their efforts to the Secretary of State, Vetch had completed arrangements at New York for the thrust from Albany against Montreal and turned his face toward Boston again. It was the conviction of the leaders that they had spared no pains to make the expedition a success. Vetch considered that he had carried out his instructions with "all the application, diligence, and faithfulness imaginable," and reported the likelihood that three thousand men might be available to march from Albany instead of the mere fifteen hundred called for, this despite the defection of Jersey and Pennsylvania. The Colonial force being readied at Boston bade fair to amount to almost two thousand instead of the twelve hundred asked for. Clearly the Colonists were behind this campaign as never before; the Crown could take great satisfaction in the prospect, and Vetch felt himself even more successful than he had dared hope. In his eyes it was "one of the greatest and most glorious enterprises Britain hath been concerned in, in many years." Considering that this was Marlborough's heyday, that was quite a statement. The "boasting Spaniard" was still to Britons like Vetch the representative of

[31] "Correspondence between William Penn and James Logan, Secretary of the Province of Pennsylvania, and others, 1700–1750" with notes by the late Mrs. Deborah Logan, edited by Edward Armstrong (2 vols., Philadelphia: 1872), in *Memoirs* of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, vols. 9–10, II: 346, 349–350; *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg: 1838), II: 470 ff, 484, 486; *Cal. St. P. Col. 1708–9*, #580.

vast and golden empire, so it meant much that he viewed his campaign as one which would bring Britain not only peace but an imperial position rivaling that of Spain.

In his letters to the Ministry Vetch was not slow in pointing out the fatigue and expense he had undergone, and in asking for reimbursement. He had acted within his orders, been as frugal as possible, and kept careful accounts, but he well knew the difficulty of obtaining reimbursement in such matters. The costs incurred had been larger than he anticipated, but he had steadfastly refused to weigh costs against imperial benefits. In his journey through the Colonies the horses' hire, the per diem pay for officers' expenses, and the necessity of hiring " a good clerk" to carry on his extensive correspondence and make copies of letters sent had all amounted to a vast sum. He had drawn on the English treasury for guns and presents for the Indians who joined the expedition. And with not one shilling in the public treasury of New York, Vetch had resorted to a bill on the English treasury for gunsmiths to repair the arms which were found rusting in the New York armory.

Yet, as Vetch pointed out, the expense of all this was less than the benefits which would be reaped. More honor to the Queen and more profit to her subjects would accrue than had come from the war in Europe, and at far less expense. For himself, Vetch never doubted that so glorious and good a Queen and such a great and just Ministry would reward his own virtue and merit.[35] Unfortunately, later events were to prove his faith unjustified, but the story of his long efforts to receive a reckoning of his accounts, and his eventual death in debtors' prison cannot be entered into here.

The period of waiting which began when Vetch returned to Boston was not easy even for an enthusiast. It was July and of the fleet which had been promised for May or early June there

[35] *Letter Book,* Vetch to Lord Treasurer Godolphin, June 29, 1709. Memorial from Ingoldesby, Nicholson, and Vetch to Queen Anne, July, 1709; Vetch to Sunderland, June 28, 1709. (Huntington Library)

was as yet no sign. Vetch's letters repeatedly expressed the thought that nothing could cause the failure of the expedition save the non-arrival of the fleet so impatiently awaited. The Colonists were slow to complain of the delay, content with the promises of preference in land and trade in the conquered territory. But a New York writer noted the anxiety current, "for all trade is at a standstill until this expedition is over."[36]

Meanwhile the Indian spies returned and reported that some of the French forts were in a rotting condition, but that Montreal and Quebec appeared strong. More important, the element of surprise had been lost; the French were aware of the intended attack from news gained from captured English Colonists. But the camp at Wood Creek, north of Albany, reported all was in readiness and the troops and Indians impatient to move. Already a small force had been sent out to cut off a French raiding party which had attacked Deerfield, the small town in western Massachusetts which had been beset so often before.[37]

Vetch occupied his time in Boston with reviewing the troops, writing long letters to England reminding those in authority of the great issues at stake and keeping them posted on developments. His wife was there with him in Boston and the social life of the provincial capital pursued its accustomed round, enlivened by the officers and their ladies gathered there.

Vetch set the last of September as the deadline after which the fleet could not sail and the expedition must be abandoned. But despite Vetch's hope that the expedition might still go forward if the fleet arrived during September, people were already saying that the season was too far gone. Vetch was having to use the best he had in "both rhetoric and politics" to keep up the spirits of the Colonists. Even he was feeling neglected by the home government, and at times found it hard to keep up his own spirits. The failure of the fleet to arrive would be "the last disappointment" to all concerned, "and would render them much more

[36] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, V: 80–81.
[37] N. Y. Council Minutes of July 2, 1709, copy (note 31) in the NYHS.

miserable than if such a thing had never been projected or undertaken," wrote Vetch. The Colonists could foresee the loss of the hoped-for happiness and tranquility as well as the loss of trade. In addition, they had spent over one hundred thousand pounds, embargoed their trade, and aroused the French, all for nothing. It was apparent to Vetch that some solid and substantial reason lay behind the neglect, but that did not make his position easier. He had hoped that he was "raising to myself a lasting monument" among the Colonists, but instead found himself blamed for the heavy expenditures to which the Colonies had been put.[38]

Vetch was right in his belief that reasons unknown to America occasioned Britain's disastrous betrayal of the enterprise which meant so much to the Colonists and had elicited such unexpectedly staunch support. Perhaps the Ministry had so little conception of American attitudes and the Colonial situation that it made its decision unadvisedly. At any rate, the interests of the Empire as seen from England always governed in colonial policy, and in this instance the reverses in the European theater of the war had seemed to demand diversion of the fleet intended for America to Portugal.

Whatever the merits of the action, it came as a severe blow to the Colonists, although not an unexpected one, since by mid-October when the news was received, the Colonists had long since given up the prospect of a campaign in 1709. What was unexpected was the date of the message. It had been written July 1st, yet the ship bearing it had not sailed until August 4th, and then had felt obliged to spend two and a half months sailing around the Atlantic on routine naval cruising instead of getting across the ocean in the usual month and a half.[39] Vetch, aware of the limitations imposed by distance and time in working so far

[38] *Letter Book*, continuation of "Journal" in letter from Vetch to Queensbury, August 1, 1709, Vetch to Nicholson, August 12, Vetch to Sunderland, September 12 and 22, 1709.

[39] *Letter Book*, Sunderland to Lovelace, July 1, 1709; Vetch to Colonial governors, September 13, calling them to a congress to determine disposition of forces raised; Dudley to Vetch, October 11, noting arrival of vessel bearing news of the diversion of the fleet to Portugal.

from the imperial center, must have realized, nevertheless, that he was caught up in bureaucratic sloth and indifference and politics-as-usual. For the Colonists the effect was not conducive of good imperial relations, and was one of many such instances which sowed seeds of Colonial dissatisfaction with England and had an incalculable but nonetheless real bearing on the eventual breakdown which led to the Revolution. The chance they had to accomplish the conquest of Canada was postponed, and the cost in lives and money of the postponement weakened and embittered the Colonists.

The story of the Colonial congress held to consider further steps, the later attempts against Canada in the years immediately following, and Vetch's continued leadership in the project of empire-building is too long to encompass in a short space. It is sufficient to note that Samuel Vetch, promoter of the "Glorious Enterprise," was in no wise responsible for its failure. As a man possessed of a unique knowledge of the country and eminently suited by previous military training for command, he had been successful beyond all reasonable expectations in planning and putting on foot an expedition which had every chance for a glorious outcome. Parkman's evaluation is that "The idea was less visionary than it seems. Energy, helped by reasonable good luck, might easily have made it a reality, so far as concerned the possessions of France."[40] It was the first time British and American forces had planned to act together on such a scale. An indication had been given of the strength which lay in union of the Colonies. The Colonists had been shown how by combining their scattered strength they might pursue a career of prosperity and peace and withstand the advance of French power. It was not the last time Vetch was to figure in great affairs.

[40] Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict,* I: 130.

Editor's Note: Besides the Vetch items described above and after Mr. Waller's article was in proof, the Society acquired a remarkably revealing manuscript Account Book, 1711–1712, which lists in detail the receipt and distribution of supplies for the 1711 Canadian expedition by the commissioners appointed for that purpose at Albany—Peter Van Brugh and Hendrick Hansen.

Above: SITE OF PRESENT PARAMOUNT THEATER, 1857
Below: VICINITY OF PRESENT COLUMBUS CIRCLE, 1857
Wash drawings by Joel H. Barlow, 1857
Collection of Ogden Goelet, presented by Lucius Wilmerding, 1949

UNKNOWN VIEWS OF OLD NEW YORK

by R. W. G. Vail

THIS is the fourth of a series of views of New York City which have not been previously published. The present selection was collected by Ogden Goelet and was presented to the Society by the late Lucius Wilmerding, until his death a member of our Board of Trustees.

IV

Joel H. Barlow's New York, in the 1840's, 1850's, and 1860's

About 1844 a twenty-five-year-old English art teacher named Joel H. Barlow arrived in New York and for about forty-five years practiced his profession in our city. Since he could not find enough students of drawing and painting fully to occupy his time, he included writing and bookkeeping in his curriculum during the years 1858 through 1866. From then until 1877 we find him busy as an artist and engrosser, and from that date to 1889 he is variously listed in the directories as artist, decorative painter, and landscape painter.

From 1844 to 1872 he lived at various New York addresses and continued his school or studio there until 1889. In 1873 he removed his family to Hoboken and appears in the Jersey City directories from that date until 1880 and in the New York directories with a Jersey City home address until 1889. His widow, Frances A. Barlow, was living in Jersey City from 1893 to 1899 and others of the family, probably his sons or grandsons, appear as Joseph H., Hiram J., and J. Hiram Barlow, Jr., in the Jersey City directories in the 1890's.

The death records of Jersey City record that one "Henry Barlow, age 70, born in England, died at the Hospital in Jersey City, March 7, 1889, buried in the Jersey City Cemetery." This is probably our Joel H. Barlow who first appeared, aged 25, in

By Joel H. Barlow: Checklist No. 1

the New York City directory in 1844 and was last listed in the issue of 1888/9.

During his first thirty years in our city, Barlow amused himself during his spare time by making watercolor, sepia, and crayon sketches of the unusual and picturesque corners of the town, some of which found their way into the portfolios of appreciative collectors. One of his paintings is in the Montclair Art Museum and our Goelet-Wilmerding collection contains fifteen of them which we take pleasure in reproducing as a valuable and hitherto unpublished record of our changing city.

The Barlow sketches in The New-York Historical Society are listed chronologically on the opposite page. Because of their charm as well as their unique contribution to the iconography of our city, many of them being the only known representation of the particular locale at the date depicted, all fifteen of the Barlow subjects are reproduced herewith. Except for Numbers 8 and 10, used as a frontispiece to this article, they are presented in the same order as the listing which follows.

1. *View from 9th Avenue looking East on 13th Street, 1845.*
Coal yard in foreground, tower of First Presbyterian Church on Fifth Avenue between 10th and 11th Streets in distance.
2. *View from 367 Broadway, looking East down Franklin Street, 1847.*
From house of Perry Bensley, machinist, 367 Broadway. Establishment of *W. I. Harrington Glass Staining* on opposite corner by street lamp.
3. *View from window 367 Broadway, looking down Franklin Street, 1847.*
View looking west.
4. *View from window 367 Broadway, looking towards St. John's Church, 1847.*
View looking northwest.
5. *Wiehawken, near 42d St. Ferry, 1849.*
6. *View from No. 72 (old No.) 37th St., between B'way and 6th Avenue, looking N.W. Jersey H[e]ights in the distance, 1857.*
New York Consolidated Stage Company (also called Seventh Avenue and Fulton Ferry Stage Line) stables under construction in left foreground, corner of 37th St. and 7th Avenue. Lutheran Church, 59 West 41st St., west of 7th Avenue, in background.
7. *View foot of 38th St. East River, December 25th 1857.*
Two blocks above Kip's Bay.
8. *Broadway, S.W. Corner 44th Street, June 6th 1857. New York.*
House, outbuildings and garden on 44th Street on plot between 43d and 44th Streets, present site of Paramount Theatre.
9. *View from 52d St. near 9th Av. looking N. E. towards 8th Av. May 30th 1857.*
Executed in watercolor.
10. *View from 59th St. North, near Eighth Avenue, July 4th, 1857.*
Near southwest corner of present Central Park.
11. *S.W. Corner 19th St. and Broadway, 1858.*
Houses at left, facing Broadway, are diagonally opposite the Peter Goelet mansion.
12. *Staten Island, East Side, 1863.*
13. *View looking towards Harlem, from North of McCoomb's Dam Bridge, Oct. 10, 1863.*
View looking south on Harlem River.
14. *View from rocky ledge a short distance South from Wiehawken Ferry; November, 1864. New York.*
New York City across the Hudson River at left.
15. *North West Corner Third Avenue and 76th St. Dec. 3d 1865.*
Old Yorkville house facing horsecar tracks on Third Avenue.

By Joel H. Barlow: Checklist No. 2

By Joel H. Barlow: Checklist No. 3

View from window 367 Broadway, looking towards St. [illegible] Church 1844.

By Joel H. Barlow: Checklist No. 4

By Joel H. Barlow: Checklist No. 5

No. 37th St. between B'way and 6th Avenue, looking N. W. Jersey Heights in the distance. 1857

By Joel H. Barlow: Checklist No. 6

...foot of 36th St. East river. December 25th 1852.

By Joel H. Barlow: Checklist No. 7

By Joel H. Barlow: Checklist No. 9

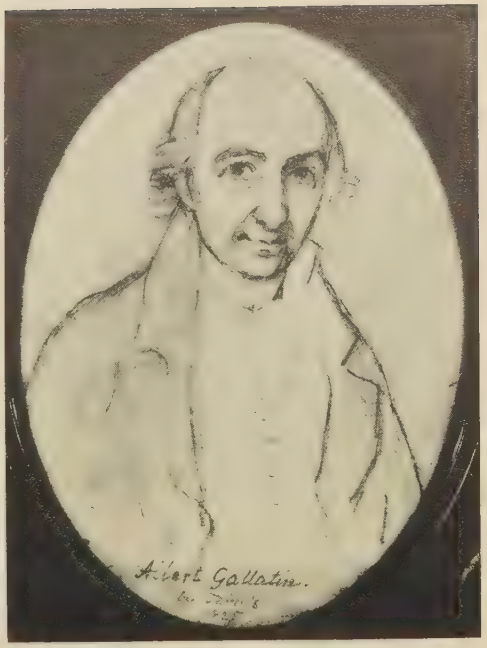
By Joel H. Barlow: Checklist No. 11

By Joel H. Barlow: Checklist No. 12

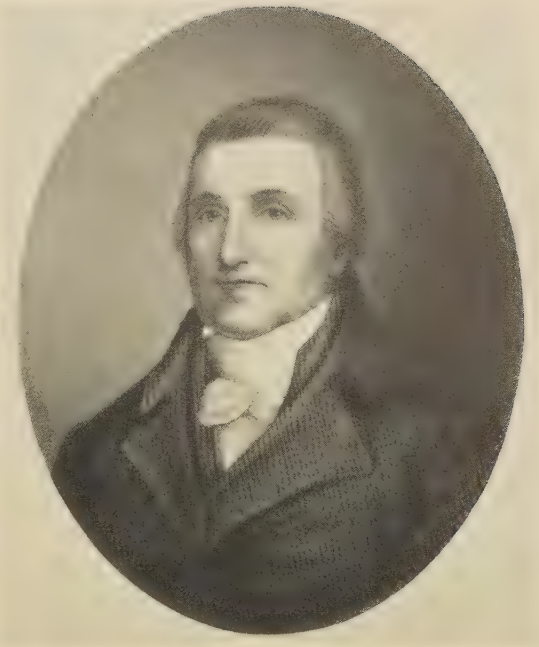
By Joel H. Barlow: Checklist No. 13

By Joel H. Barlow– Checklist No. 14

By Joel H. Barlow– Checklist No. 15



ALBERT GALLATIN (1761–1849)
Pencil drawing by John Wesley Jarvis, 1825
Courtesy of Mr. Albert Gallatin



JOHN BAPTISTE CHARLES LUCAS (1756–1842)
Steel engraving by H. B. Hall & Sons, New York
In Scharf's *St. Louis*, II, opp. p. 1408

GALLATIN REVISITED · PART ONE

THUNDER ON THE LEFT: J. B. C. LUCAS

by Wayne Andrews, *Curator of Manuscripts*

SINCE Henry Adams was not the least intelligent of American historians, nor his biography of Albert Gallatin the least of his contributions to the literature of American history, one might not be wrong in supposing that the proper appraisal of Gallatin's services to the nation was established for all time with the publication in 1879 of Adams' *Life* and the three volumes Adams edited of his writings. Yet it would be absurd to assume that Adams had said the last word on every aspect of the career of Jefferson's Secretary of the Treasury. Moreover, there exist in Gallatin's case very special reasons for believing that the time has come to reopen the question not only of his life in the narrow sense, but of his relations with his contemporaries as well.

So vast and so splendid is the collection of Gallatin papers deposited by his heirs with The New-York Historical Society, that not even Henry Adams, who made these papers the basis for his judgment of the statesman, can have read through more than a fraction of them, and as for what Adams published, though it would be silly to criticize his selection, it totals no more than three or four percent of the bulk. The papers, which are now in the process of being sorted, catalogued, and calendared, probably number more than 16,000 pieces, and it is the purpose of a contemplated series of articles under the general title "Gallatin Revisited," of which this short sketch is the first, to reveal a few of the wonders of the Gallatin Collection awaiting the inspection of those qualified scholars who, under the restrictions of the Gallatin bequest, may be entitled to delve deeper.

As readers of Henry Adams are well aware, Albert Gallatin made his influence felt in the distribution of patronage in the Jeffersonian era. What is not half so well known, and what can scarcely be told too often, is the story of the high hopes, heartbreaks, and moments of smug satisfaction of the lesser men who bid for office in that time, and a glance at the very items in the

Gallatin Collection which Henry Adams, centering his attention on his hero, left untouched, unearths so much evidence on this point that it may be best to begin this series on the Gallatin papers with the publication of certain letters of one John Baptiste Charles Lucas, a French immigrant who, as we shall see, succeeded in finding a snug political berth in the New World.*

A native of Normandy, the son of one of the *procureurs du roi* or royal prosecuting attorneys, John Baptiste Charles Lucas was started on a legal career apparently no less successful than his father's when, in 1784, he suddenly made up his mind to exile himself and his young bride to the United States. He was only twenty-six when he and his wife selected the wilderness surrounding Pittsburgh as the proper site in which to raise a family, and it may be that Le Ray de Chaumont, a real estate speculator in whose Paris home he was often a guest, urged this romantic environment as the ideal stage for a young man's ambitions.

Young Lucas, who seems to have cherished his life long the romantic belief in the perfectability of human nature, was almost immediately tempted to try his philosophy in the world of Pennsylvania politics. For six years, from 1792 to 1798, he represented his fellow farmers in the State House of Representatives, never once, so one would gather from his letters, indulging a doubt that the policies of the Left were not the policies of all men of good will. Though he was made a judge of the court of common pleas in 1794, the year of the Whiskey Rebellion, it is almost impossible to imagine Lucas presiding with true impartiality over a case involving a Hamiltonian. Nor can one conceive of Lucas' attempting, like his neighbor Albert Gallatin, to cool the passions of the Whiskey Rebels for fear the dignity of our infant institutions would be undermined by lawlessness.

As it must have meant to many Jeffersonians, the joy of officeholding meant much to Lucas, almost as much, one might unkindly judge, as his pride in upholding the correct principles.

* For an enlightening account of Lucas in Pennsylvania, based on other sources than the 35 Lucas items at The New-York Historical Society, see J. F. McDermott in *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (September 1948), 209–230.

Early in 1798 he lived in perhaps not unjustified dread that one George Wallace was doing his utmost to prevent his appointment as assistant judge of Alleghany County. "I look upon Mr. Wallace," Lucas informed his friend Gallatin, "as a man Consumate in art and cunning, I believe he will use any means he can contrive to hurt me without any scruple whatever therefore he needs to be Closely watched." And he added, for Gallatin's benefit, that "my crime with my opponents Lays in having supported your election two years ago in having also done the same for Jefferson [*sic*] ticket."

Perhaps because he believed that Federalists did not deserve to enjoy a good dinner, Lucas dearly loved to exasperate his enemies in the midst of a banquet. "I gave yesterday your name for a toast at an intertainment . . .," he enlightened Gallatin in the summer of 1798. "Several persons made a sore face I knew this would be the case I had done it purposely."

Devotion to Republican principles was entitled to be rewarded, Lucas reminded Gallatin shortly afterward. "When, in the last election, I surpassed myself, scorning the taunts and insults of the most powerful coalition we have ever had to face, and that at a time when lily-livered Republicans didn't so much as dare show themselves in the daylight, I flattered myself that we might be so happy as to witness . . . a happy change in the appointments to office. . . . I looked forward to the delights in store for us Republicans, but the Governor"—he was alluding to Thomas McKean—"has been deceived, and our hopes have been vain."

In this very letter Lucas made it plain that he was no longer an admirer of Hugh Henry Brackenridge. The author of *Modern Chivalry* had just been appointed to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, but Lucas was not one to be impressed by pomp and circumstance. "His face showed that he was suffering the inner torments of his guilt," Lucas reported. "My presence embarrassed him all the more since he was aware that I knew of his double-dealing."

If Lucas was vexed by Brackenridge's elevation to the Supreme Court, he was all but paralyzed with rage at the thought that

Hugh Scott, "the boldest and warmest advocate monarchy had at Pittsburgh," was tolerated as Pittsburgh's postmaster in the year following Jefferson's seizure of the White House. "Would it be possible," Lucas protested to Gallatin, "that the greatest Blaeguard the most notorious reviler of republicanism and its votaries the federalists had at their command . . . would be suffered to enjoy the emoluments of republican offices and becom the Depositary of the secrets of republicans under a republican administration?"

The offending postmaster may or may not have been removed, but Lucas was not forgotten by the powers of the Republican Party. In 1805, at the end of his one and only term in Congress, he was appointed District Judge of the Northern District of the Louisiana Territory, a dignity of which he was not deprived until 1820. At the same time, thanks to a good word from Gallatin, he was made Commissioner of Land Claims in the district, a job he succeeded in holding for only seven years, possibly because he was again and again involved in hideous quarrels with speculators he suspected of defrauding the Government.

Lucas no sooner settled in St. Louis, headquarters for the Northern District, than he made the discovery that the then Governor of the Territory, General James Wilkinson, was not a man of the highest motives. "Several of my friends have advised me to arm myself," Lucas informed Gallatin in the winter of 1806. "All the dependents of the governor are busily employed in calumniating me from one end of the territory to the other, I don't know whether I am to be mobed or assassinated, I should Certainly leave the territory in a Little time and go back with my family to my plantation on the monongahila was I consulting nothing else but my personal safety and repose, but I shall make a stand until it will be ascertained that I neither fear the governor nor his satellites, for my honour and independence is more precious to me than my safety."

All in all, Lucas did not lead a happy life in St. Louis. "It is perhaps unnecessary to inform you," he wrote Gallatin in the summer of 1823, "that my firm adhesion to justice between the

Spanish land claimants and the U. S. has been to me a source of persecution and grief; we have been here overwhelmed, for these few years past, by a great number of adventurers of desperate character who have taken every advantage of the unhappy state of things, they have turned the passions and malevolence of the land claimants against me. . . . one of these misscreants has picked up a quarrel with one of my sons, and has killed him in a duel, his name is Thomas H. Benton."

Since Benton had already proved he was the better shot by wounding young Lucas in a previous engagement, the father of the victim must be forgiven for failing to perceive the finer attributes of the survivor's character. "He is one of the federal senators," Lucas told Gallatin, "and has obtained the warm support of the Land Claimants in consideration of the griveous injury he has done me and of having undertaken to procure the confirmation of the land claims; he is a lawyer; he had entered with [*sic*] agreements with many of them before he was elected to the senate to be their agent and receive for his compensation a third or a fourth of the lands if confirmed."

Now that Lucas was old and weary of life in St. Louis, perhaps Gallatin could find him a post in a more desirable city. "I should accept the appointment of chargé d'affaires, wherever there might be a vacancy in any of the courts of europe," the aging politician announced. But no such offer was forthcoming, and Lucas valiantly proposed himself for Governor of the Arkansas Territory, only to be disappointed once more.

Lucas lived to be 84, which may not be at all surprising, but it is astonishing that when he passed away in the summer of 1842, he was reckoned one of the richest men in St. Louis. Anne Sebin, the girl he married before setting out for America, must have been a shrewd businesswoman in her quiet way, for she was the one who persuaded this indomitable radical to invest all his savings in St. Louis real estate. One of Lucas' tracts, running from Market to St. Charles Street, and from Fourth Street to Jefferson Avenue, embraced what has become in 1950 the site of many of Saint Louis' biggest banks, hotels, and department stores.

HISTORY WRITTEN WITH PICK AND SHOVEL

by Richard J. Koke, *Curator of the Museum*

AMONG the many objects of antiquarian and historical interest preserved by The New-York Historical Society is a collection of 18th- and early 19th-century military and domestic relics which, with their associated records of discovery, cast considerable light on the uniforms, equipment, and camp life of the American Revolution and War of 1812. These relics were secured by archaeological excavation by the Field Exploration Committee of The New-York Historical Society during a period of many years on military sites in the State of New York and along the Canadian frontier.

During the years which followed the formal organization of the Committee in 1918, a number of articles by Reginald Pelham Bolton and William L. Calver, members of the Committee, relating to their excavations and to the life and equipment of the soldiers appeared in various issues of the Society's *Quarterly Bulletin* and in its *Annual Report*. These articles proved of great interest to military students, to collectors, and to artists, sculptors, and writers, for they revealed many previously unknown facts relating to the equipment and camp life of the soldiery. They remain the best exposition of the Society's collection of these excavated relics and the only source of much of the historical information gained from them. Yet in their present scattered form, many of them scarce or out of print, these articles are all but inaccessible to the very students who might find them of most value. For this reason the Society has decided to bring the Bolton and Calver studies of military buttons, belt plates, badges, and other campsite relics together in a single handy volume, which the present article may serve to introduce.

The physical labor with pick, shovel, and sieve to obtain the relics which furnished the source material for those articles be-

gan more than three decades before the Field Exploration Committee as such was organized. During the closing years of the 19th century a group of New York gentlemen, who later became Committee members, undertook a serious archaeological study of the Indian, Colonial, and Revolutionary War sites on Washington Heights and around the Kingsbridge district of the Borough of The Bronx. At that time the entire northern section of Manhattan Island and the adjoining mainland were still in a primitive and undeveloped state.

William Louis Calver (1859–1940), who wrote many of the accounts of these explorations, commenced his archaeological investigations on the Heights in the 1880's, and about the same time Reginald Pelham Bolton (1856–1942) and Dr. Edward Hagaman Hall (1858–1936), former Secretary of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, commenced researches of a similar nature. Among their associates during the closing years of the century and in the opening years of the 20th century, spurred by a keen antiquarian interest, must be mentioned Oscar T. Barck, Alexander C. Chenoweth, Jeremiah Hunter, Dr. Montgomery Schuyler, Percy and Leslie Spier, and John Ward Dunsmore (1854–1945), the historical artist whose paintings are owned by The New-York Historical Society, by the Sons of the Revolution at Fraunces Tavern, and by the New York Title Guarantee and Trust Company.

In addition to numerous vestiges of the occupancy of the Red Man and of the early settlers on the Heights, this ground held evidences of the battle (November 16, 1776) which led to the reduction of the American defenses of Fort Washington; and during the seven years of warfare which followed, it was covered with the earthworks and cantonments of the British, Loyalist, and German soldiery who, after their departure in 1783, left in the ground many traces of their occupation.

The proximity of this area to the growing city enabled the explorers to devote many hours of their spare time to the physical exploration of the ground for relics hidden in the soil. Their

original interest had been the search for remnants of aboriginal occupancy, but in the course of their work they encountered many vestiges of the military occupation and, as their discoveries of huts and refuse pits of the Revolutionary War increased, their original interest was eclipsed by the growing fascination of domestic and military relics of the 18th century.

With the aid of old maps, diaries, documents, and whatever contemporary data were available, combined with the unerring flair of the explorers to sense the location of the camps from topographical clues, the Washington Heights and Kingsbridge areas were searched for Colonial house sites and military camps and a watch was always kept for revealing traces of former occupation when new streets were laid out and graded.

These investigations brought to light the huts of the camps with their waste and abandoned materials which lay in and around the fortifications. Patient probing and excavation revealed the sites of the camps of the Musketeer Regiment von Donop at 168th Street, of the Hessian Body Regiment at Arden Street, of the Hessian Hut camp along Bennett Avenue, of the Holland's Ferry station at 201st Street, and of the extensive Hut Camp of the 17th Regiment of Foot on the east slope of Inwood Hill. Important discoveries were made on the sites of Fort Washington, Fort Tryon, and Fort George, among the defenses on The Bronx mainland, and on the sites of the Colonial farmhouses of the Van Oblienis, Kortright, Nagel, and Dyckman families.

In the buried refuse pits the explorers found the discarded debris of the garrisons, and in the fireplaces of the long-buried huts, amid long-extinguished wood ashes, they often found bar shot which had served as fire dogs, and on the hard-packed dirt floors, sometimes partially constructed of brick, and among the ruins of Colonial farmhouses occupied by the soldiers, they recovered visible remains of the former occupants—the buttons, musket balls, bayonets, gun flints, pothooks, coins, axes, knives, forks, buckles, badges, belt plates, clay pipes, pikes, tent-pin butts, rum bottles, ceramics, and many other articles of military equipment

and personal belongings which, if sometimes insignificant, formed links with the past to reveal the character of the settlers and the soldiers.

These explorations were completed none too soon, for opportunity for further excavations is irretrievably gone. Today, where once was located the defenses of Fort George on Laurel Hill, stands the George Washington High School. The sites of the Holland's Ferry camp and the camps of the 17th Regiment of Foot, the Musketeer Regiment von Donop, the Body Regiment, and the Hessian cantonment along Bennett Avenue have all been obliterated by real estate and industrial development. On the site of Fort Tryon now tower the terraces of Fort Tryon Park. The remains of Fort Washington, which could still be partly seen in the opening years of the present century, have been effaced and a portion of the site is now a public park. On the Dyckman and Nagel farms beside the Harlem River, where were found many mementoes of the Colonial and Revolutionary occupations, now spread the repair and storage yards of the Independent Subway. Of the many earthworks which were visible when the Committee members first started their archaeological investigations only the American Redoubt in Fort Washington Park remains today.

The activities of the explorers attracted public interest, and their search for "buried treasure" became the subject of numerous newspaper articles as new sites were discovered. They became specialists in the history of the region and were often consulted and called upon to examine relics which, from time to time, were unearthed in building excavations and street openings. The first serious study of their discoveries, written by Mr. Bolton, was published as Appendix A of the Twentieth *Annual Report* (1915) of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society under title: "Military Camp Life on Upper Manhattan Island and Adjacent Mainland during the American Revolution." In 1916 Mr. Bolton enlarged and republished his treatise in a volume entitled: *Relics of the Revolution: The Story of the Discovery of the Buried Remains of Military Life in Forts*

and Camps on Manhattan Island, with military notes and illustrations contributed by W. L. Calver and J. W. Dunsmore.

The domestic and military relics of the Bolton Collection which had been culled from the ground over a period of many years were first placed on public exhibition in the Roger Morris House (Jumel Mansion) at 160th Street and Edgecombe Avenue, and a smaller but equally interesting exhibit of a similar nature was installed by the explorers in the Dyckman House Museum at Broadway and 204th Street, which had been restored and presented to the City of New York in 1916.

The Bolton Collection in the Morris House was deeded by Mr. Bolton to the Washington Headquarters Association in 1929, and on July 7, 1947, when the old house was being restored in period style, the Association gave, with the exception of a small number of missiles, the entire collection to The New-York Historical Society for preservation. Therefore, excepting only the relics still on display in the Dyckman House Museum and scattered relics in other respositories, The New-York Historical Society now houses all of the Colonial and military relics recovered by these explorers prior to the formation of the Field Exploration Committee in 1918, after which date all the material recovered was preserved in the Society's building.

The archaeological activities on Washington Heights and at Kingsbridge had been of interest to the officers of The New-York Historical Society who realized the important contribution which the explorers were making to the cause of history. In 1918 the Society prevailed upon these gentlemen to serve as a committee of the Society to continue their exploration work under the Society's auspices. On May 21, 1918 the Executive Committee of the Society accordingly appointed a Field Exploration Committee composed of the following members: William L. Calver, *Chairman;* Samuel Verplanck Hoffman (1866–1942), *Vice-Chairman;* Reginald Pelham Bolton, *Secretary;* Alexander J. Wall (1884–1944), *Treasurer;* and Dr. William Sturgis Thomas (1871–1941) and Charles M. Lefferts (1873–1923), the

noted authority on 18th-century military dress, whose *Uniforms of the Armies in the War of the American Revolution, 1775–1783*, was published by the Society in 1926. The Associate Members appointed at the same time included Oscar T. Barck, John Ward Dunsmore, Charles H. Thurston, and R. T. Webster. The Committee was also permitted to add to its roster other members willing that all relics recovered should become the property of The New-York Historical Society.

The Committee continued the archaeological research in which several of its members had been already engaged for many years. The explored sites were photographed, mapped, and recorded, and the materials recovered were cleaned, catalogued, mounted, and carefully labeled. Today the Society possesses a complete file catalogue of all the relics recovered at the various diggings.

From 1918 to 1937 yearly reports of the Committee were published in the Society's *Annual Report*. From the Washington Heights area its activity spread to the forts and camps on Staten and Long Islands, into Westchester County, and into the Highlands of the Hudson where the forgotten remains of American fortifications and cantonments of the Revolution lay concealed in the solitudes. The Committeemen excavated on the barrack sites at West Point and around the sites of the ruined fortifications on Constitution Island. With the aid of old maps and documents and an unfailing flair for determining from physical features the locations of military stations, they found the lost cantonments of Hampshire Huts, Camp Robinsons Farm, and Connecticut Village, and instigated search for others such as New Boston and Rhode Island Village. They investigated and explored sites at North and South Redoubts, at Continental Village, Cold Spring, Fishkill, New Windsor, on Storm King Mountain, at Forts Clinton and Montgomery, and the blockhouse at Sneden's Landing on the Hudson River.

In the mid-1920's their interest extended to the British fortifications of the late 18th and early 19th centuries along the Cana-

dian border, and field trips brought members of the Committee to Fort George and Fort Erie on the Niagara River, to Fort Haldimand on Carleton Island in the St. Lawrence River, and to Fort Lennox on Isle aux Noix in the Richelieu River. The materials discovered at these fortifications formed the content of monographs on buttons and badges of the War of 1812—a field of research which had been previously neglected.

The Committee members delivered lectures, bringing the activities of The New-York Historical Society into greater prominence, handled a vast amount of correspondence relating to their activities, and frequently were called upon to examine historic sites and assist in identifying and classifying materials found by archaeological investigations at Fort Ticonderoga, Jamestown, Yorktown, Williamsburg, Morristown, and other sites. It was through their efforts that a series of watercolor and ink drawings, complete in detail, were executed for the Society by Alexander R. Cattley of London of the British soldiery who served in North America during the War of 1812. These illustrations were a fitting sequel to the study of military uniforms of the American Revolution by Charles M. Lefferts which the Society published in 1926.

The relics in the Bolton and Field Exploration Committee collections now at the Society are the most comprehensive gathering of military relics of the Revolutionary War found by archaeological excavation within the limits of New York City, and a choice collection, not easily duplicated elsewhere, of materials recovered from fortifications and camps of the American Revolution and War of 1812 in other areas of New York State and along the Canadian frontier.

There are many fragmentary remains of muskets, broken sword blades and hilts, pike heads, cannon equipage, and accessories such as bayonets and innumerable gun flints. Missiles include musket and pistol balls, buck shot, grape shot, round shot of varied poundage, bar shot, expanding shot, and bombshells. Many of the broken round shot and exploded bombshell frag-

ments found on Washington Heights and at Kingsbridge are eloquent reminders of the reverberations of the battle of November 16, 1776, when the heavy shot of the opposing forces plunged deep into the ground to await their recovery in later years.

Of greatest value, however, are the inscribed buttons, cartridge-box badges, belt plates, and belt tips of the American, British, and Loyalist corps stationed in the forts and camps explored by the Field Exploration Committee. Many of these adjuncts of military dress have not been found elsewhere, and the specimens at the Society form the basis for the Calver monographs collected from the Society's publications. The accounts of these appointments not only throw new light on details of uniform equipment, but they establish the presence of regiments and detachments at the various stations and, by showing the presence of identified accessories on dated sites, offer clues to the dates of adoption of items of uniform equipment by the American soldiery during the early years of the formation of the Army, and also valuable information pertaining to the appointments of the British uniform in conformity with the regulations issued in Royal Warrants.

Each object, in its way, contributes to the picture of military life, and in the collection are also found coins, ceramics, glassware, rum bottles, shovels, nails, spikes, camp axes, tent-pin butts, Dutch tile fragments, keys, scissors, pothooks, spoons, knives, forks, a canteen, ice creepers, bale seals, lead pencils, an apothecary's weight, stirrups, bridle bits, horse and ox shoes, and even strips of lead which were sewn into the lining of the uniforms to keep them in shape. Many of the objects relating to the domestic life of the soldiers were undoubtedly pilfered from nearby farmhouses, for, among other things, identical items of ceramics now at the Society have been found both in the hut sites and in the debris of Colonial homesteads. Personal objects include clasp knives, razors, clay pipes, jew's harps, seals, sleeve links, camp-made dominoes, and children's toys.

Many of the rusted iron objects have been cleaned and paraffined, and some of the most interesting smaller objects have been

carefully mounted under glass in special frames for exhibition—which contain coins, pins, buttons, specimens of bone button manufacture, ceramics, glassware, keys, buckles, gun flints, clay tobacco pipes, bale seals, lead pencils, and musket and pistol balls, including mutilated specimens such as slugs, dum-dums, musket balls bitten by teeth, and a bullet with a nail driven into it to be fired at the enemy. The Society's fine collection of military buttons is attractively presented for exhibition in this manner, thereby making it possible to facilitate easy study of the buttons of the various corps recovered at different military sites.

In addition to their yearly reports and their articles in the Society's *Quarterly Bulletin*, the gentlemen of the Field Exploration Committee, especially Reginald Pelham Bolton and William L. Calver, contributed articles of similar subject matter to other publications, among which may be mentioned the *Bulletin* of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum and the *Journal* of the American Military History Foundation. But the most important of their discoveries and the meat of their published contribution to history will be found in the articles now selected for republication in a single volume. In issuing this volume, the Society performs a signal service to collectors, and to all students of military life and accoutrements of the American Revolution and the War of 1812.

HESSIAN REGIMENTAL BELT-PLATE, INWOOD CAMPSITE

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Immigrant Life in New York City 1825–1863. By Robert Ernst. (New York: King's Crown Press, Columbia University, 1949. xvi + 331 pages, including 148 pages of maps, appendices, notes, biblio., and index. $4.50.)

The United States, it need hardly be said, is a nation of immigrants, but only within recent years have scholars sought to assess with insight and thoroughness the role of the immigrant in the building of America. Studies there have been before, of course, particularly generalized treatments, some of the text-book variety. However, not until the researches of such men as Marcus L. Hansen, Carl Wittke, Theodore C. Blegen, and Oscar Handlin, to mention a few, was there a sharp break with the traditional approach and an exemplary effort to re-examine and reinterpret the contribution of the immigrant to American life.

Robert Ernst, an Assistant Professor of History at Adelphi College, writes in this new spirit, exploiting statistical and other source materials hitherto superficially examined, if used at all, and little understood. He brings to his work not only the objective tools of the social scientist but the wide reading of the historian, supporting his findings by a wealth of convincing documentation, and buttressing his conclusions by sound and penetrating judgments. His book not only reveals in graphic detail the workings of the process of assimilation in the largest immigrant port in the world, but helps to explain much about the problems of the burgeoning metropolis that was New York in the turbulent two-score years after the opening of the Erie Canal.

Of the fifteen chapters in this book, the first two deal with the factors that made for emigration from Europe and the character of the city to which the immigrants were coming. Brief though this survey is, and based, as the author points out, on secondary authorities, these introductory chapters do much to fix the setting for the subsequent detailed treatment, and indicate the reasons for the sharp break with the period before the 1830's, when newcomers were fewer and the task of adjustment not nearly as complex as in succeeding decades. Economic change and crisis abroad, as well as political revolutions and social and religious restrictions, proved the mighty impetus to overseas migration, encouraged not a little for pecuniary reasons by agencies on both sides of the Atlantic.

But great as were the incentives to migration, and powerful the forces that promoted it, New York, metropolis though it was, barely kept pace in municipal resourcefulness with the mounting demands on its services and facilities. Somehow the city muddled through, at what cost in human misery, blighted efforts, and wrecked dreams can only be guessed. And somehow, too, the city emerged from it all, more majestic than ever,

its deepening cosmopolitanism an endless source of cultural strength, its industrial greatness a bountiful reward for a hospitality that never ran out.

How this all came about, from the arrival of the immigrant, through the trials and tribulations of gaining a foothold in a new land, to the ultimate assumption of the responsibilities of citizenship, is the principal concern of the author, who, chapter by chapter, follows the course of Americans in the making over the years and decades of an eventful, turbulent, creative epoch in the annals of the developing city.

As Dr. Ernst shows, by the 1840's the influx of immigrants was accompanied by many a change in public policy, urban living, and civic attitudes. The state was brought into the picture as a controlling and supervisory agency. Immigrant communities began to spread over Manhattan Island, springing up where there was ready employment or available housing or reminders of European ways. Demands for the unskilled laborer and the trained artisan in industry absorbed willing workers in an ever-expanding economy within and without the city.

At mid-century, fully three-fourths of all the immigrants to the United States came through the port of New York. For some, New York was to be home; for most, only a stopping-off place on the journey into the interior. Still, by 1855, though "only a relatively small proportion" of the immigrants remained in the city, over half its population was of foreign birth. Moreover, three-fourths of the craftsmen and factory hands were immigrants. They helped, says Dr. Ernst, to house and clothe New Yorkers; they made their own jobs; and they generally coöperated with native Americans to improve working conditions. About half the immigrant population in the metropolis in 1855 was of Irish birth and about one third was German-born. In consequence, the economic problems, the social and cultural interests, and the political activities of these two groups loomed large in the life of the city, influencing its development and conditioning its character.

Next to the church and the school, of all the other Americanizing agencies at work in the metropolis during that age perhaps the most effective was the foreign-language press. Newspapers were truly a major educational force in bridging the gap between the Old and the New Worlds. They were especially potent, too, in the political orientation of naturalized citizens, whose role in city politics proved increasingly decisive. Nor must it be forgotten that the contents of these papers are one of the surest guides we have today to the dynamics of the assimilating process. Dr. Ernst's searching of the columns of this many-sided press adds immeasurably to the value of his study.

With the advent of the Civil War, holds the author, came the test of the patriotism of the new Americans. They rose nobly to the challenge. The draft riots of 1863 reflected not immigrant disloyalty but working-class unrest, aggravated by opposition to conscription and exemptions for the well-to-do.

Digging deeply into relevant facts and figures, Dr. Ernst's findings are often arresting and always interesting. He avoids the superficial explanation and the hasty generalization. Covering a period of approximately forty years, he does not presume to resolve the complexities of social change in terms of a progressive narrative of chronological betterment. He has not strained for dramatic effect, but allowed the facts to speak for themselves. While the passing of time solved many problems, others were simply exacerbated or took on new forms. There is more to come in the story, and 1863 is but a stopping place.

About two thirds of this monograph is text; the rest of the book is devoted to thirty-five statistical tabulations, copious, absorbing notes, a splendid bibliography, and a very useful index. The tables will prove of great reference value. The occupational classifications alone, based on the manuscript schedules of the New York State Census of 1855, are masterly, and may well repay further analysis and scrutiny. This book is an important study, both in content and in method.

The City College, New York SIDNEY I. POMERANTZ

*Frederick Catherwood Arch*t. By VICTOR WOLFGANG VON HAGEN. Introduction by ALDOUS HUXLEY. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950. xix + 177 pages, biblio., index, illus., color frontis. $5.00.)

In a lively, readable, and beautifully illustrated book, Mr. Von Hagen has brought to life a neglected and important figure—that of Frederick Catherwood, artist, architect, maker and exhibitor of panoramas, and archaeologist. The story is extraordinary. Catherwood was a close friend of Severn and by implication, the author believes, an acquaintance of Keats. Trained as an architect, he joined Severn in Rome after Keats's death and became a member of the vivid group of English architects, artists, aristocrats, and eccentrics then resident in Rome, as well as an intimate—and perhaps a paramour—of Lady Westmoreland. He traveled to Greece; later he was for five years an important member of the group who under Robert Hay were exploring Egyptian sites, measuring and drawing Egyptian architecture, and laying the foundations of scientific Egyptian archaeology.

But his first renown came later, when, dressed as an Arab and bearing a *firman* from Mehemet Ali, he penetrated the sacred Mohammedan shrines of Jerusalem—measuring and drawing them carefully—not without adventure and danger. His measurements and drawings were appreciated and much used by James Fergusson, the architectural historian, and others.

Back in London, Catherwood became interested in panoramas and, with Robert Burford, exhibited panoramas of Egypt and of Jerusalem. Then he came to the United States and entered into a partnership with Frederick Diaper, a fellow Englishman, who had a broad and distinguished New York practice. He built in New York a large Panorama

building and showed there his own, and possibly other, panoramas together with large numbers of his sketches and watercolors of Egypt and the Holy Land. The Panorama became popular; it brought him in a considerable income. But he was restless. In England he had met John Lloyd Stephens, and together they planned an expedition to the land of the Mayas; in 1839 they sailed for Honduras.

The rest of the story is well known through the two Stephens books, 1841 and 1843, describing the two expeditions. In these books Catherwood's drawings were perhaps the most important element; the lavish magnificence of the architecture and the sculpture they depicted broke upon the historians and the archaeologists like a great wave bearing excitement and curiosity in its train. Later, in England, Catherwood published his larger, folio volume of *Views of Ancient Monuments in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*—magnificent plates, superbly lithographed and in some copies colored. These are amazingly accurate; they are dramatic and full of mood and atmosphere as well. Yet, fine as are the plates, they are weak when placed alongside the original sepia drawings, a few of which fortunately still exist.

After the burning of the New York Panorama, with his panoramas and most of his watercolors and sketches, Catherwood's restlessness led him away again. He changed his profession—became a civil engineer—and went to British Guiana to build a railroad, apparently leaving in New York a wife and children who thereupon fade completely from history. From Guiana, after a visit or two to London and one to the United States (the chronology is confused), he went on to California and became important in the development of Benecia and chief engineer of a proposed railroad in that region. He returned to England, spent a little over a year there, and had the misfortune to choose the steamship *Arctic* for his return. The *Arctic* was lost in a famous collision with the French ship *Vesta*, and most of her passengers, including Catherwood, were drowned.

The author tells this tale in a vivid, staccato style which conceals an enormous amount of far-reaching research. The footnotes are adequate and accurate; the task of ferreting out the life of this strange and forgotten character has been well done. But the frequent metaphors are sometimes farfetched; the style occasionally becomes mere rhetoric. "Belzoni," writes Mr. Von Hagen, "had broken into the Khufu pyramid, where he had pierced the walls and entered the labyrinths, trampling on golden-plated mummies as 'thick as leaves in Vallombrosa.'" What labyrinths in the pyramid? What mummies? And occasionally the archaeological facts are not understood; the author seems not to realize that ancient Thebes included Karnak, Luxor, Deir-el-Bahri, Medinet Habu, and Gourna, for he mentions them as separate cities. And the spelling of Egyptian names is capricious—"Giza" and "Gizeh" in successive sentences, for instance. The broadside engraving of the New York Panorama is not the only known view of it, nor was this New York's "first" panorama. A smaller version of the view exists as an illustration of Jacob

Abbott's *Rollo in New York*, and the "Rotunda" in City Hall Park had been used for showing panoramas years earlier—Vanderlyn's *Versailles*, for instance.

*Frederick Catherwood Arch*t. is, despite these minor errors, a magnificent accomplishment. And its twenty-five plates and sixteen figures, together with its colored frontispiece, give a vivid picture of the scenes delineated; they present, in addition, remarkable evidence of Catherwood's accuracy and of his amazing skill as an artist-draftsman. The book is beautifully designed, though this reviewer would have preferred halftone plates because of their greater brilliance; it is a book much to be welcomed.

The New-York Historical Society plays an honored part in the story; at the behest of Albert Gallatin in 1843 it endorsed enthusiastically Catherwood's proposal to publish his folio volume in New York. It was the failure to achieve sufficient subscriptions here which led to his bringing out the book on a reduced scale in England.

Columbia University TALBOT HAMLIN

The Presbyterian Church in New York City. By THEODORE FISKE SAVAGE. (The Presbytery of New York, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York: 1949. 259 pages including indexes. $3.50.)

The Reverend Theodore Fiske Savage, D.D., executive secretary and stated clerk of The Presbytery of New York, is to be congratulated upon a useful, interesting, accurate short history of the Presbyterian Church in New York City.

Part I (105 pp.) is the story of the Presbytery in nine chapters: "The Beginnings" from Francis Doughty's arrival at New Amsterdam in 1643 with his parishioners ousted by the Indians from Mespat, Long Island, down to the establishment in 1716 of the First Presbyterian Church in the City of New York; "The Organization of the Presbytery of New York and Its Changing Boundaries"; "The Growth of the Presbytery Missions and Church Extension"; "Life and Worship in the Early Days"; "Sunday Schools and Religious Education"; "Education of the Ministry"; "Public Affairs and Moral Issues"; "The Presbytery and Other Organizations"; and "The Contribution of the Presbyterian Church" to the city and the nation.

Part II (pp. 109–228) is an alphabetically arranged series of historical sketches "of every church that has at any time been connected with the Presbytery of New York, and that has been located within the present boundaries of the Presbytery,—the Boroughs of Manhattan, Bronx and Richmond." Of these churches, the index lists 247—living, merged, or dissolved. There is also an index of ministers, with their dates of service, and the churches they served; and an index of addresses of churches.

There is no bibliography or citation of sources.

C.E.B.

MISS EDNA W. WATKINS 1890–1950

IT IS with great sorrow that we record the sudden death on March 21st, 1950, of Miss Edna W. Watkins, Head Cataloguer in the Society's Library. Miss Watkins came to our cataloguing department eleven years ago with thorough training and experience in the handling of American historical materials. Her sunny disposition endeared her to her associates and her hard-working and conscientious endeavor to keep ahead of the mass of incoming books won for her the respect and admiration of the officers of the Society. She loved her work and not only managed to handle the new materials as they came in but found time to catalogue many of the unprocessed older books of the Library, to rearrange many sections of the book stacks, and to prepare a steady flow of unbound material for the bindery. To do all this, she frequently worked late at night, simply for the satisfaction of seeing the necessary work well done. In addition, she trained and supervised numerous younger assistants in the exacting work of her department. After her day's work was done, she still found time to give to the committees of her church and her professional organizations and for the enjoyment of lectures, concerts, the theater, and the association of her many friends. Though others may carry on her work, no one can replace her in our admiration and affections.

Miss Watkins was born at Milford, Michigan, on December 1st, 1890; graduated from the Milford High School in 1909 and from Michigan State College with the degree of B.S. in 1914. Having begun her graduate work in the Columbia University School of Library Service, she secured the degree Master of Library Service, University of Michigan, in 1937.

She began her career as a teacher, first for three years in the Detroit public schools, then in the Flint, Michigan, High School, followed by ten years as Principal of the Milford High School, ending in 1928. She then joined her younger sister Marjorie on the editorial staff of Sabin's *Dictionary of Books on America* from 1931 to 1936. Next she served as cataloguer in the University of Cincinnati Library in 1937 and 1938, as an editorial assistant on the American Imprints Inventory in 1938 and 1939. On September 1st, 1939, she came to this Society where she served with distinction as Head Cataloguer from 1941 until her death.

Miss Watkins was a member of the American Library Association, the Special Library Association, the New York Library Club, the Bibliographical Society of America, the American Association for State and Local History, and the Second Presbyterian Church of New York City. At the time of her death she was Secretary of the Museum Group of the New York Chapter of the Special Library Association (having previously been its Chairman) and Treasurer of the Women's Service League of the Second Presbyterian Church. She is survived by three brothers: Dr. Myron, Ralph, and Robert Watkins, and two sisters: Mrs. Theron Arms and Mrs. George Daniels.

ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY

A CALENDAR of Society events during the first three months of the year 1950 follows:

January 11: Lecture for members and friends, "Architecture of Romantic America," by Mr. Wayne Andrews, followed by a brief talk by Charles Messer Stow of *The Sun* pertinent to the opening of the special exhibition, 20TH CENTURY NEW YORK: PEN AND INK SKETCHES by Vernon Howe Bailey. (Exhibition to continue through April 9th.)

January 14: Meeting of the New York State Button Society with an address by Mr. Alphaeus H. Albert. The Museum's collection of Revolutionary buttons was put on display in the main corridor for the occasion.

January 17: Installation of High School Loan Exhibition, "New York From Meadow to Metropolis," in Washington Irving High School.

January 18: Meeting of the New York Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy honoring the birthdays of three Confederate leaders, Robert E. Lee, Mathew F. Maury, and Thomas J. Jackson. Installation of High School Loan Exhibition, "When Old New York Was Young," in Seward Park High School.

January 19: Meeting of the Society of American Historians.

January 20: Meeting of The Bibliographical Society of America. Papers by Frederick R. Goff, Lawrence Clark Powell, Clifton Waller Barrett, and Victor Hugo Paltsits.

February 7: Lecture for members and friends, "Historical American Powder Horns," illustrated with slides, by Stephen V. Grancsay, Curator of Arms and Armor of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

February 11: Meeting of The New York Folklore Society and a program of "Folklore of Three Continents," with Arthur S. Alberts, Richard Lee, Paul Walters, and Carl Carmer in a discussion led by Dr. Harold Thompson, Dr. Maritz Jagendorf presiding.

February 15: Meeting of the New York League of Women Voters.

February 17: Opening of the special exhibition, IN 1850. (Exhibition to continue through July 31st.)

February 24: Meeting of Miss Cromen's class in "The Library in Contemporary Society" from St. John's University; Miss Barck spoke to them about the resources of the library.

February 25: FILMS OF THE AMERICAN SCENE: first of a series of ten free weekly programs of documentary motion pictures of 20th-Century United States, showing "The United States" and "America the Beautiful."

February 28: Installation of High School Loan Exhibitions, "When Old New York Was Young," in Brooklyn Technical High School and, "New York From Meadow to Metropolis," in Benjamin Franklin High School.

March 1: Tour of the Museum by members of the National Society of Colonial Dames in the State of New York, conducted by Mr. Wall.

March 4: Films of the American Scene, showing "The River" and "Valley of the Tennessee."

March 7: Lecture for members and friends, "East and West Have Met," an account of war experiences in the hands of the Japanese in Manila, by Mary Foley Smith.

March 11: Films of the American Scene, showing "A Heritage We Guard" and "Realm of the Wild."

March 18: High School History Program, "In the Days of Wigs and Gunpowder," illustrated lecture and demonstration by Miss Pless, and a feature film, "Drums Along the Mohawk." Films of the American Scene, showing "The City" and "And So They Live." The first of five seminars on "General Semantics of Sense and Nonsense" by the New York Society for General Semantics; the remaining four seminars being held on the evenings of March 19, 20, 21 and 22.

March 25: School Art League Program: "Picture Your Ancestors," by Betty Ezequelle. Films of the American Scene, showing "The Nation's Capitol," "The Presidency," "The Congress," "The Supreme Court," and "The Library of Congress."

March 28: Meeting of the New York Library Club.

April 1: School Art League Program: "Window Display as a Career," by Henry S. Calahan of Lord and Taylor. Films of the American Scene, showing "Steel Town," "Valley Town," and "New Ways of Farming."

Two new members joined the staff of the Society on February 1st: Mr. Louis H. Fox, with many years' experience as head of the Newspaper Division of the New York Public Library, took over the newspaper section of our Library; and Miss Janice Bardeen became a clerical assistant in the Catalogue Department. Miss Roberta Paine, who left the Society last June for an extended vacation in Europe, returned in January to take on the duties of a newly created position, that of Cataloguer of Maps and Prints, thereby fulfilling a long-felt need.

Miss Barck, our Librarian, represented the Society at a meeting of the Local Historians of the Metropolitan Area on February 7th and spoke before the Creative Writing Group of the American Association of University Women on February 20th. She was also recently elected Vice Chairman of the New York Chapter of the Steamship Historical Society of America.

Mr. Wayne Andrews repeated his illustrated lecture on "Architecture of Romantic America," before the New Canaan Historical Society on March 13th, and Mr. Arthur Carlson gave an illustrated talk on Broadway for the Thursday Night Social Group of the Community Church of New York on March 16th.

During the past year a movement was begun by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Museum of the City of New York, and The New-York Historical Society to collaborate with city institutions of higher learning in training prospective school teachers for the interpretation of museum collections to their classes. Conferences among the educational departments of the three institutions resulted in the decision to direct our efforts toward the teaching of social studies and American history. An actual beginning was made on February 27th when Mr. Wall of the Society joined Dr. Sterling Callisen, Director of Education of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Mr. Hardinge Scholle, Director of the Museum of the City of New York, before student-teachers at Hunter College in a symposium on "How Museums Can Coöperate With Teachers of Social Studies and American History."

Among future events in store for members and their friends are: a lecture on "American Book Printing in the Mauve Quindecade 1890-1904" by Thomas A. Larremore, serving as an introduction to the opening of a special exhibition on the same subject Wednesday, April 12th; an illustrated lecture on the Geological History of the New York area by Dr. Hall Taylor of Columbia University Tuesday evening, May 2d; and the Annual Strawberry Festival to be held this year on the afternoon of Monday, June 5th. On the latter occasion Harry Blanchard will present "American History in Song."

Future Saturday showings of the documentary motion picture series, FILMS OF THE AMERICAN SCENE, are as follows:

April 8: "Circling the Square," "Your Child Is a Genius," "Funny Business," and "The Loon's Necklace."

April 15: "The F. B. I.," "Doubtful Dollars," and "Your Postal Service."

April 22: "Radio Broadcasting Today," "Biography of the Motion Picture Camera," and "March of the Movies."

April 29: "The American Teacher," "Does It Matter What You Think?," and "Americans All."

All programs are open free to the public and begin at 3:15 P.M.

OLD PRINTING PRESSES

IF you have an original 18th-century printing press and are wondering where it might do the most good, our director, Mr. Vail, would be happy to hear from you about it. Or if you have a hand press but don't know the name of its maker or its place and date of origin, ask Mr. Ralph Green, 332 South Michigan Ave., Chicago 4, Ill. His hobby is to inspect and gather information about old presses. Just send him a brief description with, if possible, a photograph of yours and he'll give you the benefit of his knowledge.

RECENT ACCESSIONS

MANUSCRIPT diary of James W. Beekman's trip to Europe, 1838–1839; photograph of James Hude Beekman (1848–1902); *A Dialogue between Christ, a Youth and the Devil* (Philadelphia: 1846). *Gift of Dr. Fenwick Beekman.*

Two inlaid wooden panels representing "Painting" and "Poetry" made by Charles Volkert, grandfather of donor, and two silver medals presented to him in 1852 and 1855 for inlaid woodwork; oil portrait of *Edmond Francis Bonaventure,* father of donor and well-known New York City rare-book dealer, by unidentified artist; three photographs of E. F. Bonaventure and his book and print shops, *c.* 1882–1897; certificate of award issued to him for exhibit of rare books and fine bindings by the World's Columbian Commission, Chicago, 1893. *Gift of Mr. Edmond C. Bonaventure.*

Manuscript, "Experiments on the model of a boat to be moved by a steam engine," by Robert Fulton, in his autograph, Paris, January 9–15, 1803. *Gift of the Estate of the Reverend Robert Fulton Crary, D.D., eldest grandson of Robert Fulton, through his children, Cornelia Fulton Crary, Alice Crary Sutcliffe, and Robert Fulton Crary.*

Picturesque Views of American Scenery (Philadelphia: 1820). *Gift of Mr. Charles E. Dunlap.*

Eight etched bookplates made by the donor. *Gift of Miss Agnes B. Fernbach.*

Notebook of General Philip Schuyler, 1779; twelve Schuyler manuscripts, 1769–1851; chart showing descendants of Jonathan Fish, of Newtown; genealogical notes on Schuyler family; volume of early New York music, *c.* 1800; *The Institution of the Society of the Cincinnati,* 1783; D. C. Johnson's *Scraps,* Nos. 7 and 8, 1837 and 1840; *The American Statesman's Kalendar and Register for 1813. Gift of Miss Lucille de Luze Foley.*

Sixty-one covers of the New York Central's University menu series, with pictures from photographs and from drawings by Vernon Howe Bailey. *Gift of Mr. William T. Gaynor, Assistant Advertising Manager, New York Central System.*

Oil painting, *American Mountain Scenery,* 1836, by William Guy Wall. *Gift of Mr. Prosper Guerry.*

Seven etchings (announcements, greeting cards, bookplate) by Ernest Haskell, donor's father; *Permanent Collections, Ernest Haskell, Nineteen Forty-Eight,* compiled by donor. *Gift of Mr. Ernest Haskell, Jr.*

Two early circulars of schools for young ladies in Geneva and Newburgh, New York; two programs for entertainments in New York, 1865 and 1877; receipt from Mrs. Reynolds' Employment Agency, New York, 1877. *Gift of Mrs. Marjorie M. Holland, Secretary, Dobbs Alumnae Association.*

Oil painting of a coaching trip to Philadelphia taken by donor and Alfred Vanderbilt *c.* 1910, by A. M. R. Douglas. *Gift of Mr. James Hazen Hyde.*

Four-hundred-thirty-seven pieces of music relating to New York City, Hudson River, newspapers, characters in comic strips, dance music, woman suffrage, skating, to be added to American sheet music collection presented in 1949. *Gift of Mrs. Bella C. Landauer.*

Portraits of *Frank Spencer Witherbee* (1852–1917) by Thomas C. Corner, 1908; *Lispenard Stewart II* (1855–1927) by Thomas C. Corner, 1902; *Julia Rhinelander* (1823–1890) by unidentified artist; *Mrs. Lispenard Stewart I* (Mary Rogers Rhinelander, 1822–1893) by Harper Pennington. *Gift of Mrs. Charles Duncan Miller.*

Autograph letter, March 5, 1793, from Madame de Lafayette to Gouverneur Morris, ancestor of donor, thanking him for his efforts to free the Marquis de Lafayette from prison; poster showing the steamers *Drew* and *St. John* passing each other on the Hudson. *Gift of Mr. Lewis Gouverneur Morris.*

Oil portrait of *Mrs. David West, Sr.* (Sarah Presbury, 1743–1821) by Christian Gullager, *c.* 1798. *Gift of Mrs. Katharine Prentis Murphy.*

Early 19th-century sword and musket barrel found while excavating for new Great Apes House, 1949. *Gift of The New York Zoological Society.*

Volume containing commissions and orders of William Leonard Nicoll (1842–1887), Engineer, U.S. Navy, uncle of donor. *Gift of Mr. William L. Nicoll.*

The New-York Historical Society's gold medal for Achievement in History presented to Dr. George Clinton Densmore Odell in 1942. *Gift of the heirs of Dr. Odell.*

.45 caliber Colt single-action army revolver, patented 1873. *Gift of Mr. Irving S. Olds.*

Seven letters, two documents, various mementos and clippings relating chiefly to the Shippen and Wallace families. *Gift of Mrs. Arthur K. Peck.*

Oil portrait of *Herbert C. Pell* and his son *Claiborne Pell* by Olive Bigelow (Mrs. Herbert C. Pell), 1928. *Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert C. Pell.*

Uniform of Corporal August Westhoff (1838–1902), grandfather of donor, worn at the Battle of Antietam, September 17, 1862. *Gift of Mrs. Arthur Richter.*

Knitted afghan made by Miss Florence Audubon, granddaughter of John James Audubon. *Gift of Miss Edna Robertson.*

Photograph of study of Captain John Sanford Barnes, father of donor, at 10 East 79th Street, New York City; *John Sanford Barnes, a Memorial and a Tribute,* 1912; letters to donor, 1909–1917. *Gift of Mrs. Francis Rogers.*

Three oil sketches by Will Simmons. *Gift of Mr. Oliver C. Sheean.*

Kith and Kin, edited by Carl G. Smedberg, 1921–1947, 25 volumes. *Bequest of Mrs. Bessie Clarkson Smedberg.*

Two-hundred-forty English and French heraldic bookplates. *Gift of Mr. Abel I. Smith, Jr.*

Oil portrait of *Ephraim George Squier* (1821–1888), uncle of donors, by Jacob H. Lazarus, 1873. *Gift of Mr. Frank Squier and Mrs. Edith Squier Turnbull.*

Volume issued for dedication of New York Normal College, 1873; two volumes, 32 pamphlets, programs, and invitations of New York interest; 16 notebooks kept in 1880's by Salome Purroy, aunt of Mayor John Purroy Mitchel. *Gift of Mr. M. Halsey Thomas.*

Mahogany mirror with label of John Steen, 161 Fulton Street, New York (listed at this address 1817–1827). *Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Richard Caldwell Thompson.*

Seven letters to Daniel Rogers, grandfather of donor; 12 manuscripts relating to his publication, *The City-Hall Recorder,* 1816–1822. *Gift of Miss Helen R. Titus.*

The Livingston Family in America and Its Scottish Origins, compiled by donor, 1949. *Gift of Miss Florence Van Rensselaer.*

Manuscript chart by James A. Bancker of the Gerrit Bancker family; 210 family letters, 1733–1796, of Evert Bancker and members of Bancker family; engraved portrait of Admiral Adrian Banckert of the Dutch Navy; three bookplates and two prints relating to the family. *Gift of Mrs. Gordon Wightman.*

Collection of manuscripts of Miss Elise Justine Bayard (later Mrs. Cutting), ancestor of donor: Journal, 1840–1848 in 11 volumes, 11 volumes of various works. *Gift of Mrs. Lucius Wilmerding.*

CORRECTION

In the Recent Accessions in the January *Quarterly* it was erroneously stated that Mrs. Howell Cobb was the founder of the Southern Cross of Honor. The founder was her daughter, Mary Ann Lamar Cobb Erwin.